

Message Text

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01 STATE 113287
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 H-02 L-03 IO-14 ACDA-12 CIAE-00
INR-10 NSAE-00 PM-05 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 /081 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/SE:RCEWING:RAH
APPROVED BY EUR/SE:RCEWING
H:NCLEDSKY

-----013756 040238Z /73

P 040035Z MAY 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY

UNCLAS STATE 113287

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PGOV, CY, TU, GR

SUBJECT: LETTER FROM FORMER UNDER SECRETARY BALL TO HIRC
CHAIRMAN ZABLOCKI IN SUPPORT OF ADMINISTRATION'S EASTERN
MEDITERRANEAN PROGRAM

FOLLOWING FOR YOUR INFORMATION IS TEXT OF LETTER DATED
APRIL 28 FROM FORMER UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE GEORGE BALL
TO HIRC CHAIRMAN ZABLOCKI. SIMILAR LETTER HAS BEEN SENT
TO SFRC CHAIRMAN SPARKMAN. DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER
CITED LETTER IN RESPONDING TO QUESTIONS BEFORE SFRC MAY 2.

BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: ON JULY 10, 1975 MR. CYRUS VANCE AND I
TESTIFIED BEFORE THE COMMITTEE WITH REGARD TO HR 8454 WHICH
WOULD HAVE AUTHORIZED THE PRESIDENT TO SUSPEND THE CUTOFF
OF SALES CREDITS AND GUARANTEES OF MILITARY SUPPLIES TO
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 113287

TURKEY. THAT CUTOFF HAD BEEN ENACTED FOLLOWING THE TURKISH
INVASION OF CYPRUS.

SPEAKING AS PRIVATE CITIZENS, MR. VANCE AND I OPPOSED THE
SUSPENSION OF THE CUTOFF ON THE GROUND THAT THE TURKISH
GOVERNMENT MIGHT INTERPRET SUCH ACTION AS A VINDICATION OF
ITS MISUSE OF THE WEAPONS AND THUS FEEL UNDER NO PRESSURE

TO MAKE THE CONCESSIONS REQUIRED FOR A CYPRUS SETTLEMENT. IN ITS LARGER IMPLICATIONS, WE WERE CONCERNED THAT THE SUGGESTED MEASURE MIGHT CREATE THE IMPRESSION THAT NATIONS RECEIVING ARMS SHIPMENTS FROM THE UNITED STATES COULD FREELY DISREGARD THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THOSE ARMS WERE MADE AVAILABLE.

WE SUGGESTED INSTEAD THAT THE PRESIDENT CONSIDER USING THE WAIVER AUTHORITY CONTAINED IN SECTION 614(A) OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT WHICH WOULD ENABLE HIM TO AUTHORIZE THE ALLOCATION OF UP TO DOLS 50 MILLION OF WEAPONS EACH YEAR OR ALTERNATIVELY THAT CONGRESS MIGHT SUSPEND THE CUTOFF FOR THREE MONTHS WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE MATTER WOULD BE REVIEWED AT THE END OF THAT PERIOD.

WE MADE THESE SUGGESTIONS IN THE HOPE THAT BY MAINTAINING SUSTAINED PRESSURE TURKEY MIGHT BE PERSUADED TO MOVE TOWARD A JUST SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS ISSUE.

THAT OF COURSE WAS ALMOST THREE YEARS AGO AND THOUGH I UNDERSTAND THAT THERE HAS BEEN SOME PROGRESS IN DEVELOPING AN AGREED FRAMEWORK FOR A SETTLEMENT NO CONCRETE AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED THAT IS ACCEPTABLE TO THE TWO COMMUNITIES ON CYPRUS.

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 113287

THE TIME IS THUS RIPE FOR REVIEWING THE AMERICAN POSITION. IN THE COURSE OF THAT REVIEW THE COMMITTEE SHOULD, IT SEEMS TO ME, CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING THREE QUESTIONS:

1. HAS THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT NOW ADEQUATELY DEMONSTRATED THAT IT WILL IMPOSE SERIOUS PENALTIES FOR VIOLATIONS OF RESTRICTIONS ON THE USE OF WEAPONS IT PROVIDES TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES?
2. IS THE CONTINUANCE OF THE PRESENT SUSPENSION LIKELY TO ENCOURAGE OR HINDER A SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS ISSUE AND THE OTHER ISSUES IN DISPUTE BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY?
3. WHAT MEASURES SHOULD THE UNITED STATES TAKE IN ORDER TO ASSURE ADEQUATE STRENGTH ON THE SOUTHERN FLANK OF OUR NATO DEFENSES?

TO MY MIND THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT BY WITHHOLDING ARMS FROM TURKEY FOR FOUR YEARS THE UNITED STATES HAS EMPHATICALLY ESTABLISHED THAT WE TAKE SERIOUSLY THE RESTRICTIONS WE IMPOSE ON THE USE OF SUCH ARMS. TURKEY HAS

MADE CLEAR BY HER COMPLAINTS THAT THIS DENIAL HAS BEEN PAINFUL.

ALTHOUGH WE SHOULD, AS A MATTER OF NORMAL PRACTICE, SHAPE OUR FOREIGN POLICY ACTIONS TO ACCORD WITH OUR ESTABLISHED PRINCIPLES THE SOUNDNESS OF OUR ACTIONS MUST IN THE LONG RUN BE DETERMINED BY EXPERIENCE. NO ONE CAN SAY WITH CERTAINTY WHETHER OR NOT THE TURKISH AND GREEK GOVERNMENTS WOULD HAVE MOVED FARTHER TOWARD A SETTLEMENT IF THE UNITED STATES HAD CONTINUED TO PROVIDE ARMS TO TURKEY. ALTHOUGH I THINK IT LIKELY THAT THE CUTOFF HAS CONTRIBUTED TO WHATEVER PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE AT THE SAME TIME IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT THE CONTINUANCE OF THE CUTOFF IS NOW OPERATING TO RESTRICT THE POLITICAL FREEDOM OF MANEUVER OF THE TURK-
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 113287

ISH LEADERSHIP AND THUS DISABLES THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT FROM MAKING THE SUBSTANTIAL CONCESSIONS THAT A SETTLEMENT REQUIRES. THUS THE TIME HAS COME, AS I SEE IT, FOR US TO ADJUST OUR POLICIES TO THIS NEW REALITY.

UNQUESTIONABLY WE HAVE IMPORTANT STRATEGIC REASONS FOR DOING SO. TURKEY IS NOT ONLY MILITARILY SIGNIFICANT AS THE ANCHOR OF NATO'S SOUTHERN FLANK; BUT IT OFFERS IMPORTANT FORWARD POSITIONS FOR WESTERN DEFENSE AND PROVIDES A FORMIDABLE FIGHTING FORCE FOR THE SUPPORT OF OUR WHOLE WESTERN SECURITY SYSTEM.

IN VIEW OF THESE CIRCUMSTANCES I BELIEVE THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR THE UNITED STATES TO PUT AN END TO THE CURRENT SUSPENSION OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND WEAPONS TO TURKEY. ALTHOUGH THAT MAY CREATE MOMENTARY UNHAPPINESS IN GREECE, IT WOULD IN THE LONG RUN BE IN THE BEST INTERESTS OF THE GREEK PEOPLE. RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED, GEORGE W. BALL.
CHRISTOPHER

UNCLASSIFIED

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MEETING CHAIRMAN, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, FOREIGN COMMITMENTS, ARMS EMBARGO
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 04 may 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 jan 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE113287
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: RCEWING:RAH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780189-0799
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780593/aaaadbnn.tel
Line Count: 155
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 39dd98a4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 22 mar 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2791791
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: LETTER FROM FORMER UNDER SECRETARY BALL TO HIRC CHAIRMAN ZABLOCKI IN SUPPORT OF ADMINISTRATION'S EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN PROGRAM
TAGS: PGOV, CY, TU, GR
To: ANKARA ATHENS MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/39dd98a4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014